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SIXTH YEAR—WHOLE NO. 286 CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, AUGUST 27, 1904. PRICE ONE CENT.

EUGENE V. DEBS MAKES REPLY TO FORMER PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

The Secret History of the Great Pullman Strike Told by the Man Who Conducted It.

In the July issue of McClure's Magazine, ex-President Grover Cleveland has an article on "The Government in the Chicago Strike of 1894." That there may be no mistake about the meaning of "government" in this connection, it should be understood that Mr. Cleveland has reference to the federal government, of which he was the executive head at the time of the strike in question, and not to the state government of Illinois, or the municipal government of Chicago, both of which were overridden and set at defiance by the executive authority, enforced by the military power of the federal government, under the administration of Mr. Cleveland.

CLEVELAND VINDICATES HIMSELF.
The ex-President's article not only triumphantly vindicates his administration, but congratulates its author upon the eminent service he rendered the republic in a critical hour when a labor strike jarred its foundations and threatened its overthrow.

WHAT WAS THE CHICAGO STRIKE?
Simply one of the many battles that have been fought and are yet to be fought in the economic war between capital and labor. Pittsburgh, Homestead, Buffalo, Latimer, Pana, Coeur d'Alene, Cripple Creek and Telluride recall a few of the battles fought in this country in the world-wide struggle for industrial emancipation.

THE OBJECT OF FEDERAL INTERFERENCE.
From the federal judge who sat on the bench as the protégé of the late Geo. M. Pullman, to whose influence he was indebted for his appointment—as he was to the railroad companies for the annual passes he had in his pocket—down to the last thing sworn in by the railroads and paid by the railroads (p. 240 report of strike commission) to serve the railroads as United States deputy marshals, the one object of the federal court and its officers was not the enforcement of law and preservation of order, but the breaking up of the strike in the interest of the railroad corporations, and it was because of this fact that John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois, and John P. Hopkins, Mayor of Chicago, were not in harmony with President Cleveland's administration and protested against the federal troops being used in their State and city for such a malign purpose.

CLEVELAND OMITTS REFERENCE TO JUDGE WOODS.
The late Judge Wm. A. Woods figured as one of the principal judges in the Chi-

ago affair, issuing the injunctions, citing the strikers to appear before him, and sentencing them to jail without trial; but President Cleveland discreetly omits all reference to him; and although he introduces copies of many documents, his article does not include copies of the telegrams that passed between Judge Woods, from his home at Indianapolis, and the railroad managers at Chicago before he left home to hold court in the latter city.

Judge Woods had the distinction of convicting the writer and his colleagues without a trial and of releasing William W. Dudley, of "Blocks of Five" memory, in spite of a trial.

PULLMAN'S CONTEMPT OF COURT.
During the strike the late George M. Pullman was summoned to appear before the federal court to give testimony. He at once had his private car attached to an east-bound train and left the city, treating the court with sovereign contempt. On his return, accompanied by Robert Todd Lincoln, his attorney, he had a tete-a-tete with the court "in chambers," and that ended the matter. He was not required to testify, nor to appear in open court. The strikers upon whom there fell even the suspicion of a shadow of contempt was sentenced and jailed with alacrity. Not one was spared, not one invited to a "heart-to-heart" with his honor "in chambers."

A CHALLENGE TO CLEVELAND.
In reviewing the article of ex-President Cleveland I wish to adduce the proof of my exceptions and denials, as well as the evidence to support my affirmations, but I realize that in the limited space of a single issue it is impossible to do this in complete and satisfactory manner; and as the case is important enough to be revived, after a lapse of ten years, by Mr. Cleveland, and as the side of labor has never yet reached the people, I am prompted to suggest a fair and full hearing of both sides on the public rostrum or in a series of articles, and I shall be happy to meet Mr. Cleveland, or any one he may designate, in such oral or written discussion, and if I fail to relieve the great body of railroad men who composed the American Railway Union of the criminal stigma which Mr. Cleveland has sought to fasten upon them, or if I cannot produce satisfactory evidence that the crimes charged were instigated by the other side, the side in whose interest President Cleveland brought to bear all the powers of the federal government, I will agree to publicly beg forgiveness of the railroads, apologize to the ex-President and cease my agitation forever.

THE COURT'S PARTIALITY TO THE RAILROADS.
It is easy for Mr. Cleveland and others who were on the side of the railroads to introduce copies of documents, reports, etc., for the simple reason that the federal court at Chicago compelled the telegraph companies to deliver up copies of all our telegrams and copies of the proceedings of our convention and other meetings of the American Railway Union, including secret sessions, but the federal court did not call upon the railroads to produce the telegrams that passed among themselves, nor between their counsel and the federal authorities, nor the printed proceedings of the General Managers' Association, for public inspection and as a basis for criminal prosecution.

HAD THE STRIKE WON.
Nevertheless, there is available proof sufficient to make it clear to the unprejudiced mind, to the honest man who seeks the truth, that the United States government, under the administration of President Grover Cleveland, was at the beck and call of the railroad corporations, acting as one through the "Gen-

eral Managers' Association," and that these corporations, with the federal courts and troops to back them up, had swarms of mercenaries sworn in as deputy marshals to incite violence as a pretext for taking possession of the headquarters of the American Railway Union by armed force, throwing its leaders into prison without trial, and breaking up a strike that was fairly won without a blow being struck, and breaking down the union that was victorious, maligning, browbeating and persecuting its peaceable and law-abiding members and putting the railroad corporations in supreme control of the situation.

That was the part of President Cleveland in the Chicago strike, and for this achievement the railroad combine and the trusts in general remember him with profound gratitude and are not only willing but anxious that he shall be President of the United States forever more. A PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE ACTION.

In the closing paragraph of his article Mr. Cleveland compliments his administration upon having cleared the way "which shall hereafter guide our nation safely and surely in the exercise of its functions which represent the people's trust." The word, "people's," is not only superfluous but mischievous and fatal to truth. Omit that and the ex-President's statement will not be challenged.

CLEVELAND'S FIRST MOVE.
How did President Cleveland begin operations in the Chicago strike? Among the first things he did, as he himself tells us, was to appoint Edwin Walker as special counsel for the government.

Who Was Edwin Walker?
"An able and prominent attorney," says Mr. Cleveland.
Is that all?
Not quite. At the time President Cleveland and his Attorney General, Richard Olney, designated Edwin Walker, upon recommendation of the railroads, as special counsel to the government, for which alleged service he was paid a fee that amounted to a fortune. THE SAID EDWIN WALKER WAS ALREADY THE REGULAR COUNSEL OF THE CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE AND ST. PAUL RAILWAY.

Turning for a moment to "Who's Who in America," we find:
"Walker, Edwin, lawyer, removed to Chicago in 1865; has represented several railroads as general solicitor since 1860. Illinois counsel for C. M. & St. P. R. R. since 1870; also partner in firm of W. P. Rend & Co., coal miners and special counsel for the United States in the law suits growing out of the great railroad strike of 1894."
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WALKER'S APPOINTMENT.
What is the significance of such an appointment under such circumstances? Can it be in doubt a single moment? Does it not indicate clearly that the railroads controlled the government, that President Cleveland did the bidding of the General Managers' Association by appointing as special counsel of the government their own attorney to prosecute the striking employees and use the powers of government to crush them into submission? Can there be a shadow of doubt about it in the mind of any candid man?

CLEVELAND AND HIS CABINET PLACED THE GOVERNMENT AT THE SERVICE OF THE RAILROADS.
Edwin Walker, their own attorney, made the agent of the government and put in supreme command of the railroad and government forces! What an unholy alliance! And what a spectacle and object lesson.

UPON WALKER'S REPRESENTATIONS CLEVELAND ACTED, UPON WALKER'S DEMAND THE FEDERAL SOLDIERS MARCHED INTO CHICAGO, UPON WALKER'S COMMAND THE GREAT GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OBEYED WITH ALL THE SUBSERVENCY OF A TRAINED LACKEY.

SUPPOSE CLEVELAND HAD APPOINTED DARROW?
Suppose that President Cleveland had appointed Clarence S. Darrow, attorney for the American Railway Union, instead of Edwin Walker, attorney of the General Managers' Association, as special counsel to the government!

And suppose that Darrow had ordered the offices of the General Managers' Association sacked, the books, papers and correspondence, including the unopened private letters of the absent officers, packed up and carted away and the offices put under the guard of federal ruffians, in flagrant violation of the constitution of the United States, as was done by order of Walker with the offices of the American Railway Union!

THE RAILROADS THE REAL LAW-BREAKERS.
The implication that runs through Mr. Cleveland's entire article is that the railway corporations were paragons of peace and patriotism, law and order, while the railway employees were a criminal, desperate and bloodthirsty mob, which had to be suppressed by the strong arm of the government.

HELL IN PACKINGTOWN.
Within the "lodging-houses," and indeed the entire Yards, I have just stated there reigns a saturnalia of beastly debauchery that beggars all description. At all hazards the negroes must be kept within the Yards. Hence their every passion must be gratified, for the gentle, religious packing-house magnates know well the lesson which ages of slave-owners have learned and used, that there is no surer way of keeping a slave quiet than by first debauching and debasing him, and then giving him full liberty to gratify all his passions. There was no need to debauch the negro. Earlier generations of masters had already done that. But these had been to some degree restrained in giving him full rein to his inclinations by desire to preserve his labor power and protect property. Neither of these considerations prevails here. A horde of police protect property and his labor-power is not what is wanted at present.

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THE BATTLE OF THE MEAT MAKERS.

BY A. M. SIMONS.

For years the conditions at the Chicago Stock Yards has been such as to make them the despair of labor organizers. Almost wholly unskilled, in the ordinary sense of the word, of the most diverse nationalities and discouraged by the terrible defeat in the struggle for eight hours in old K. of L. days, it was generally accepted that the workers of the "Yards" could never be organized. The owners did all in their power to confirm this position. The most thorough, unscrupulous, and extensive spy system to be found in almost any industry in America, was accompanied by a thorough-going system of victimization of all who showed even the slightest friendliness to organized labor.

But the Yards and Packingtown have been unionized. More than that the men have shown that across all the lines of race and nationality and trade, or lack of trade, they have felt the thrill of labor's brotherhood and are holding together with a firmness and fidelity that has seldom been equalled on the battle-ground of labor.

A FORCED STRIKE.
Right here it is worth a moment's time to take a glance at some hitherto unpublished history concerning the origin of this strike—especially since the packing-house owners are out with a statement to the "public" complaining of "broken contracts" and whining for sympathy from their victims. It is a matter of common gossip within the sacred precincts of the offices and the "Exchange building" that the strike was forced at this time by the employees. One of them has admitted that had the workingmen been able to delay it a month longer they would have won it. But they had no choice. It was strike when they did or suffer a reduction of wages, the disruption of their union by discrimination and discharge of the most active men. Then when the strike came the owners at once played one of the most skillfully, diabolically treacherous tricks ever played in a labor war. This was their famous offer of arbitration (when too late to permit its acceptance) and then their alleged agreement with its subsequent violation.

A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED TELEGRAM.
Right here is the place to tell something that has just come to my ears from an absolutely reliable source that explains what has occurred since then. I know from information that is impossible of error, that immediately on the signing of the alleged agreement a cypher telegram was sent out by at least one of the great packing-houses (and everyone knows that uniformity of action is an absolute rule among the stock-yards firms, in such matters), saying "EMPLOY NO UNION LEADERS." This telegram was sent, by this house at least, to all its branch houses, and it is absolutely certain that an identical dispatch was sent to all the other branch houses. Any evidence on this point comes from within the office and is absolutely reliable.

Under these conditions there was nothing left for the men to do but to go out again, and this was done. This is the battle which is now on. It is a fight for life, for the individual workers—for the right to stand together as men, for better conditions for themselves, their families, their children and their children's children. CONDITIONS AT PRESENT.

It is probable that a condition similar to that now existing within the great board walls of "Packingtown" has never been seen in this world before. It is a saturnalia of beastiality such as the Romans of centuries gone by made famous. Thousands of negroes have been imported from the cities of the South—products of the worst of capitalism, chattel-slavery and primitive savagery combined. Men, in whom the savagery of Africa has been intensified by generations of the worse savagery of wage- and chattel-servitude, accompanied by a final education in the slums of some great city, are now caged up within "Packingtown." Not that blame rests upon them, but they are here in the midst of our present society and it is silly to be blind to their present terrible brutal degradation. These men have been hauled here, with the same consideration that Texas steers are hauled to the same locality. They are not here to produce meat, but to BREAK THE STRIKE. They are here to feed race prejudice and lay the foundations for future race-riots. They are here to aggravate and enrage the strikers in the hope that they may commit some mad act of violence and thus permit the use of militia to shoot them into helpless submission.

I say they are not here to produce meat. They are not even considered as employees—but only as strike-breakers. If they can only be kept within the inclosed palisade of the Yards long enough, it is hoped that the former employees will come cringing back to take up their servile task beneath the damnable yoke of wage-slavery that has ever been more galling in Packingtown than almost anywhere else on earth.

Being here only for this purpose, they are subject to no control. They are not organized for labor, they are not directed as to work. A foreman who has charge of one of the gangs of alleged workmen, said that when he told one of them to work a little faster, he was met with the response: "Now see heah, boss, I just can't go no fahster than I ahm now." On venturing a suggestion that if he could not hurry he might at least do his work well, he was told by the negro scab, "Now look heah. If you don't like the way Ahm doin' this wokk, then you just go 'way and lemme alone." And the foreman went away, because he knew that this negro, like all the others now in the packing-house, was not there to work, but to break a strike.

Moreover, he knew that the negro was armed and of brutal, murderous disposition. No others could live in the conditions which I shall show exist there at the present time. One of the boarding-house keepers admitted that at the first meal of every gang of scabs, all the table knives disappeared. Soon they were seen again, on the persons of the strike-breakers, with the point broken off and both edges ground sharp, making a most murderous weapon.

HELL IN PACKINGTOWN.
Within the "lodging-houses," and indeed the entire Yards, I have just stated there reigns a saturnalia of beastly debauchery that beggars all description. At all hazards the negroes must be kept within the Yards. Hence their every passion must be gratified, for the gentle, religious packing-house magnates know well the lesson which ages of slave-owners have learned and used, that there is no surer way of keeping a slave quiet than by first debauching and debasing him, and then giving him full liberty to gratify all his passions. There was no need to debauch the negro. Earlier generations of masters had already done that. But these had been to some degree restrained in giving him full rein to his inclinations by desire to preserve his labor power and protect property. Neither of these considerations prevails here. A horde of police protect property and his labor-power is not what is wanted at present.

So it is that gambling, drinking, and all the disgusting actions that would be called beastial, were man not the only animal that had sunk so low as to be guilty of them, run riot at the Yards. No detailed description of these conditions is possible in a paper such as this, or indeed in any publication whatever. Some hint can be given, and imagination, aided by knowledge of what the beasts of capitalism might do if all restraint were removed and all the encouragement to debauchery still remained. Suffice to say that every woman now working in the Yards is the free prey of whatsoever brutalized negro may care to use her for his purposes. Stories of brutal, disgusting rapes have already come to my ears from the most authentic sources. One physician let in a flood light that makes one shudder when he stated that in his official capacity as "company doctor" he had cared for TWO HUNDRED CASES OF SYPHILIS IN ONE WEEK AMONG THE NEGRO STRIKE-BREAKERS.

Besides these undecipherable, and unimaginable conditions in this respect, the stories of nightly prize-fights, where men pound one another into bleeding semblances of human beasts, while crowds of cheering scabs, men and women, join with the police in watching this modern gladiatorial exhibition—I say in comparison with the other things described, these latter sink into comparative decency.

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**EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.**  
 To secure a return of unused manuscripts please should be enclosed. The fact that a signed article is published does not commit the Chicago Socialist to all opinions expressed therein. Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name and address of the contributor, for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.

Entered at the Postoffice, Chicago, Ill., as Second-class matter, March, 18, 1902.



You have not heard that any of the Armour or Swifts have applied at the relief station yet?

If the strikers would vote the Socialist ticket this fall the bosses would give them everything they ask for, and a little more, to keep them quiet.

Things will brighten up considerably for the strikers in the Stock Yards when they learn to go to the ballot box as unanimously as they go on strike.

Walter Weillman was sent to Colorado to whitewash the Republican administration, and incidentally to blackguard the miners. He made a poor job of both.

The main plank in the Democratic platform reads: "The Republicans have been robbing the people for eight years, and it is now our turn." This plank, however, was left out for fear the working people might catch on to the tricks.

It is quite probable that the Hearst newspapers will attempt no more "straw votes." One taken in New York is not at all encouraging to the crowd eaters. It was found that the laboring men in New York "take kindly to Debs," and that Parker "does not command the Bryan strength." Of 37 men who voted for Bryan in 1900 Parker "will lose nearly one-half," and the only encouragement the Hearstocrats got out of three days' canvass was that many who voted for McKinley "are merely coming back to the regular Democracy." Comrades, peg away; we have 'em going.

After one of our soap-box speakers had finished addressing a large audience one evening last week an old man, one of the fast drying middle class, came up and shook his hand and said: "Young man, you are all right. I can't find a word wrong with what you say, but you are forty years ahead of your time." Our speaker respectfully retorted: "Are you sure that it is not you who are living and thinking the thoughts of a past generation? Are you sure that you have kept abreast of the times? Go home and read the history of the few years immediately preceding the struggle which culminated in the abolition of chattel slavery."

The Chicago Tribune in taking its "straw vote" was astounded to find so many policemen who stated they were going to vote the Socialist ticket. But in reality there is nothing strange about it. The police, from the very nature of their work, are brought into contact with all the rottenness of the effect of capitalism, competition and capitalist class rule. They see its results in its finished work in all its horror. Besides these object lessons which capitalism furnishes, the police have been listening to the Socialist speakers on the street corners for the past five years.

Their attitude is perfectly natural and logical, and need not astonish our conservative mugwump contemporary. Unless all signs fall the morning after the election the capitalists will have something of a straw which will show which way the cyclone is coming from.

The police who are making things so uncomfortable for Socialist speakers in various parts of the country are simply obeying the orders of their and all other workmen's masters. There is some disposition on the part of the working class to blame the police personally. This attitude on the part of the workers reminds us very much of the dog which bays at a man, but when the stick is struck with a man. The dog cannot reason from cause to effect, so instead of attacking the man he bites the stick. The police, the militia and the courts are simply the clubs that capitalism wields to smash the heads of workers with whenever they make any effort to extend their interests, or better their conditions. And there is not much hope of the workers securing much improvement in the conditions under which they must work and live until they take the aforementioned clubs out of the hands of the class to whose interest it is to keep them in economic bondage. Remember, Mr. Workingman, that it is your vote that places all the powers of government in the possession and control of the class which invariably uses it against

you. By a united, intelligent action on your part at the ballot box all this may be changed. It is not so much the capitalist's superior intelligence as it is your pitiable stupidity which perpetuates this horrible nightmare.

**"LAW AND ORDER"**

Law and order are nice things, especially so when one can get them made "to order." Brother Donnelly, though, the president of the "International Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Union," who but lately expressed misgivings on account of the possibility that a large percentage of the strikers in Packingtown might turn Socialist in consequence of the experience they are busy gathering at present, is not half as enthusiastic for them as he used to be.

Brother Donnelly probably is not wholly blind to the fact that, notwithstanding the friendly course pursued toward the strikers by Police Justice Fitzgerald, law and order are handed in a rather one-sided manner by the authorities.

Police Captain Clancy and Police Inspector Hunt knew and understood from the very start that in the streets of Packingtown, inhabited almost exclusively by strikers and their friends, order of a kind would have to be maintained which would strike the fancy of Messrs. Armour, Morris, Swift, Tilden et al. That according to existing rules and regulations, it does not matter whether the wise Judge Brentano has since overruled them or not, the packers should not have been suffered to house en masse in their shambles and refineries that forna crowd of strike breakers imported by them from all parts of the country, was known, neither to Captain Clancy nor to old Hunt, although the latter prides himself on his knowledge of all the city's ordinances. Just as ignorant as these two, Building Commissioner Williams and Health Commissioner Reynolds, proved to be, and with them in the dark groped his (so-called) honor, the Mayor, reputed to have inherited from his late lamented progenitor among other nice and useful things, staid democracy and staunch friendship for the working people. To the city's corporation attorney, Tolman, who receives an annual salary of \$10,000 for his fabrications, or rather mythical, versatility in legal lore, a lawyer hired by the strikers, had to show the sections of the lodging house ordinance, violated by the packers, before he ventured the "recommendation" that the ordinance "should be enforced, although it might prove disagreeable to the packers." Five weeks had elapsed since the strike, and with it, the transgressions of the packers had begun ere the "constituted authorities" began to see their duty in the premises. But they were not at all in the hurry to do it. Instead they politely started to confer with the contemptors of the law, and it ensued a lengthy debate in court whether it would be in order or not to proceed against them. During said debate the legal representative of the packers in a jocular mood stated that the strike breakers were to be regarded as guests of his high and mighty clients. The worthy Brentano, by the way, managed to remain serious at this delightful quip.

From the above it can be seen that Mayor Harrison knows how to keep his love for law and order within bounds, if any undue zeal in this regard might really hurt the wealthy packers. He refrains from action even at a time when he counts on a great number of workmen's votes for his political friends and allies.

As "yet more friendly to the working people" than Mr. Harrison, our famous sheriff, the sport-loving Mr. Barrett, personally knows of the existing laws as little as of most other things. To keep on the safe side he retains a counsellor-at-law, or a number of such, among them—characteristically enough—Mr. Levy Mayer, the renowned guide of plutocracy, philosopher and friend of the philanthropic "Illinois Manufacturers' Association." That Mr. Mayer should have called the sheriff's attention to the fact that it is unlawful in Illinois to import strike breakers without telling them beforehand what kind of services are expected from them, is not very probable. But it is improbable that no one else should have given Mr. Barrett an inkling as to said law. Nevertheless, Mr. Barrett has not seen fit to do a thing in the matter. He has made no attempt whatever to prevent the packers from unlawfully bringing a great number of ignorant and most probably vicious men within the confines of our glorious commonwealth.

So much for the two Democratic high coculturums. Now to the Republicans. State's Attorney Deneen has not yet raised a finger in order to force the packers to obey laws which they don't like. Yet Deneen is at present—being candidate for Governor—undoubtedly far more "friendly to the cause of the people" than he will be after election. United States District Attorney Mr. Betha is not in evidence at all. The strike has furnished him all kinds of proof for the fact that his celebrated injunction against the packers is constantly being violated by them, but he does not make the slightest use of this proof. He most probably lies low somewhere, keeping his ear to the ground, listening for orders from Washington or Oyster Bay. But he strains his ear in vain. Washington and Oyster Bay keep mum in these days so trying for men's souls. Law and order are nice things, but one must not expect to see them

enforced to the detriment of the ruling class. Therefore, away with class rule! Away with official authorities by grace of the money power! D.

**Eugene V. Debs Makes Reply to Former President Cleveland.**

(Continued from First Page.)

General Managers' Association and special counsel to the government. Let us quote the report of the strike commission, consisting of Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, who served ex-officio; John D. Kernan of New York and N. E. Worthington of Illinois, two lawyers, appointed by President Cleveland. Let it be noted that the railway employees, that is to say labor, the working class, had no representative on this commission.

From the report they issued we quite as follows:  
**A. R. U. LEADERS ADVISE AGAINST STRIKE.**

"It is undoubtedly true that the officers and directors of the American Railway Union did not want a strike at Pullman and advised against it." (p. XXVII.) Yet the people were told over and over still believe that Debs ordered the strike.

**RAILROADS SET THE EXAMPLE.**  
 "It should be noted that until the railroad set the example a general union of railroad employees was never attempted." (p. XXXI.)

"The refusal of the General Managers' Association to recognize and deal with such a combination of labor as the American Railway Union seems arrogant and absurd, when we consider its standing before the law, its assumptions, and its past and obviously contemplated future action." (p. XXXI.)

"... the rents (at Pullman) are from 20 to 25 per cent higher than rents in Chicago or surrounding towns for similar accommodations." (p. XXXV.)

**STRIKE COMMISSION CONTRADICTS CLEVELAND.**  
 "The strike occurred on May 11, and from that time until the soldiers went to Pullman, about July 4, 300 strikers were placed about the company's property, professedly to guard it from destruction or interference. This guarding of property in strikes is a rule, a mere pretense. To prevent newcomers from taking the strikers' places, by persuasion, often to be followed, if ineffective, by intimidation and violence. The Pullman Company claims this was the real object of these guards. THESE STRIKERS AT PULLMAN ARE ENTITLED TO BE BELIEVED TO THE CONTRARY IN THIS MATTER, BECAUSE OF THEIR CONDUCT AND FORFEITURE AFTER MAY 11. IT IS IN EVIDENCE AND UNCONTRACTED THAT NO VIOLENCE OR DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY BY STRIKERS OR SYMPATHIZERS TOOK PLACE AT PULLMAN, AND THAT UNTIL JULY 3 (when the federal troops came upon the scene) NO EXTRAORDINARY PROTECTION WAS HAD FROM THE POLICE OR MILITARY AGAINST EVEN ANTICIPATED DISORDER." (p. XXXVIII.)

This paragraph from the report of Mr. Cleveland's own commission is sufficient answer to Mr. Cleveland's article. It is conclusive, crushing, overwhelming.

**DEPUTIES STARTED THE TROUBLE.**  
 There was no trouble at Pullman, nor at Chicago, nor elsewhere, until the railroad-United States deputy marshals were sworn in, followed by the federal troops. Algeid, patriot and statesman, knew it and protested against the troops.

Mayor John P. Hopkins knew it and declared that he was fully competent to preserve the peace of the city.

**SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE CALLED THEM "THUGS."**  
 Michael Brennan, superintendent of the Chicago police, knew it and denounced the deputy marshals, Edwin Walker's hirelings, the General Managers' Association's incendiaries and sluggers, as "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts."

These were the "gentlemen" President Cleveland's government pressed into service upon requisition of the railroads, to preserve order and protect life and property, and this is what the ex-President calls "The power of the national government to protect itself in the exercise of its functions."

As to just what these "functions" are, when Grover Cleveland is President, the railroad corporations understand to a nicety and agree to by acclamation.

**PEACE REIGNED SUPREME.**  
 The only trouble there was when the "deputies" were sworn in, followed by the soldiers, was that there was no trouble. That is the secret of subsequent proceedings. The railroads were paralyzed. Profound peace reigned. The people demanded of the railroads that they operate their trains. They could not do it. Not a man would serve them. They were completely defeated, and the banners of organized labor floated triumphant in the breeze.

Beaten at every point, their schemes all frustrated, outgeneraled in tactics and strategy, the corporations played their trump card by an appeal to the federal judiciary and the federal administration. To this appeal the response came quick as lightning from a storm cloud.

**PEACE FATAL TO MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION.**  
 Peace and order were fatal to the railroad corporations. Violence was as necessary to them as peace was to the employees. They realized that victory could only be snatched from labor by an appeal to violence in the name of peace.

First, deputy marshals. The very day they were appointed the trouble began. The files of every Chicago paper prove it. The report of the strike commission does the same.

That was what they were hired for, and their character is sufficient evidence of their guilt.

Second, fires (but no Pullman palace cars were lighted), and riots (but no strikers were implicated).

Third, the capitalist owned newspapers and Associated Press flashed the news over all the wires that the people were over all the wires that the people who ought to be made deputy marshals or deputy sheriffs. \*

In regard to most of the deputy marshals, they seemed to be hunting trouble all the time. \*

At one time a serious row nearly resulted because some of the deputy marshals standing on the railroad track jeered at the women that passed and insulted them. \*

I saw more deputy marshals drunk than I saw strikers drunk. \*

These were Edwin Walker's justly celebrated guardians of the peace. \*

Page 370: Herold L. Cleveland, reporter for the Chicago Herald, testified: "I was on the tracks of the Western Indiana fourteen days. \* \* \* I saw it that time a couple of hundred deputy marshals. I think they were a very low, contemptible set of men." \*

**DEPUTIES HIRED AND PAID BY THE RAILROADS.**  
 Now follows what the strike commission themselves have to say about the deputy marshals, and their words are specially commended to the thoughtful consideration of their chief, President Cleveland: "United States deputy marshals, to the number of 3,000, were selected by and appointed at request of the General Managers' Association, and of its railroads. They were armed and paid by the railroads and acted in the double capacity of railroad employees and United States officers. While operating the railroads they assumed and exercised unrestricted United States authority when so ordered by their employers, or whenever they regarded it as necessary. They were not under the direct control of any government official while exercising authority. This is placing officers of the government under control of a combination of railroads. It is a bad precedent that might well lead to serious consequences." \*

**THE CORPORATION SERVES THE CORPORATION.**  
 Here we have it, upon the authority of President Cleveland's own commission, that the United States government under his administration furnished the railroad corporations with government officers, in the form of deputy marshals, to take the places of striking employees, operate the trains and serve in that dual capacity in any way that might be required to crush out the strike. This is perhaps more credit than the ex-President expected to receive. His own commission charges him, in effect, with serving the railroads as strike-breaker by furnishing government employees to take the places of striking railroad men and arming them with pistols and clubs and with all the authority of government officials.

Page after page bears testimony of the disreputable character of the deputy marshals sworn in to the number of several thousand and turned loose like armfuls of bullies to "preserve the peace." \*

The report of the strike commission contains 681 pages. I have a mass of other testimony, but for the purpose of this article have confined myself to the report of Mr. Cleveland's own commission.

**HOW THE STRIKERS WERE DEFEATED.**  
 Hundreds of pages of evidence are given by impartial witnesses to establish the guilt of the railroad corporations, to prove that the leaders of the strike counseled peace and order, that the strikers themselves were law-abiding and used their influence to prevent disorder; that there was no trouble until the murderous deputy marshals were sprung upon the community, and that these instigated trouble to pave the way for injunctions and soldiers and change of public sentiment, thereby defeating the strike.

**CONFIRMED BY CLEVELAND.**  
 President Cleveland unwittingly, perhaps, confirms this fact. On page 232 of his article he quotes approvingly the letter written to Edwin Walker, special counsel of the government and regular counsel of the railroads, by Attorney General Richard Olney as follows: "It has seemed to me that if the rights of the United States (railroads) were vigorously asserted in Chicago, the origin and center of the demonstration, the result would be to make it a failure everywhere else, and to prevent its spread over the entire country."

**DISURBANCES STARTED BY DEPUTY MARSHALS.**

The first trouble instigated by the deputy marshals was the signal for the federal court injunctions, and they came like a succession of lightning flashes.

Next, the general offices of the American Railway Union were sacked and put under guard and communication destroyed.

Next, the leaders of the strike were arrested, not for crime, but for alleged violation of an injunction.

Next, they were brought into court, denied trial by jury, pronounced guilty by the same judge who had issued the injunction, and sent to jail from three to six months.

**THE "CONCLUDING WORDS NOT YET WRITTEN."**  
 The Supreme Court of the United States, consisting wholly of trained and successful corporation lawyers, affirmed the proceedings and President Cleveland says that they have "written the concluding words of this history."

Did the Supreme Court of the United States write the "concluding words" in the history of chattel slavery when it handed down Chief Justice Taney's decision that "black men had no rights that the white man was bound to respect?" \*

These "concluding words" will but hasten the overthrow of wage slavery as the "concluding words" of the same Supreme Court in 1857 hastened the overthrow of chattel slavery.

The railroad corporations would rather have destroyed their property and seen Chicago perish than see the American Railway Union triumphant in as noble a cause as ever prompted sympathetic, manly men to action in this world.

The late Mayor Pingree of Detroit came to Chicago with telegrams from the Mayors of over fifty of the largest cities urging that there should be arbitration. (p. XXXIX, report of strike commission.) He was turned down without ceremony and afterwards declared that the railroads were the only criminals and that they were responsible for all the consequences.

On June 22, four days before the strike against the Pullman cars, rather the boycott of Pullman's stock effort, there was a joint meeting of the railroad and Pullman officials. (p. XLII, report of strike commission.) At this meeting it was resolved to defeat the strikers, wipe out the American Railway Union, and to use their exact words, "That we act unitedly to that end."

This was the only joint meeting of the kind that had ever been held between the officials of the railroad companies and the Pullman Company. They mutually determined to stand together to defeat the strike and destroy the union.

Now, to show what regard these gentlemen have for courts and law and morals, this incident will suffice:  
**RAILROAD OFFICERS PERJURE THEMSELVES.**

When the officers of the American Railway Union were indicted by a special and packed grand jury and placed on trial for conspiracy, the general managers of the railroads were put on the witness stand to testify as to what action had been taken at the joint railroad and Pullman meeting above described, and each and every one of them perjured himself by swearing that he had no recollection of what had taken place at that meeting. Sitting within a few feet of them, I saw their faces turn scarlet under the cross-examination, knowing that they were testifying falsely, that the court knew it, and that every one present knew it, but they stuck to their agreement and uniformly failed to remember that they had resolved to stand together, the railroads agreeing to back the Pullman Company in defeating their furnishing employees, and the Pullman Company pledging itself to stand by the railroads in destroying the American Railway Union.

That is what their own record shows they resolved to do, and a little later they concluded to forget all about it, and to have their sworn in a federal court of law.

Have copies of the court records, including the testimony, to prove this, and the files of all the Chicago dailies of that time contain the same testimony.

These are the gentlemen who have so much to say about law and order, the vaunted guardians of morals and good citizenship.

When A. B. Stickney, President of the Chicago Great Western, who had been victimized by them, told them their faces that there was not an honest official among them and that he would not trust one of them out of his sight, they did not attempt any defense. They knew that their accuser was on the inside and in position to make good his assertions.

**THE DEPUTIES AS VIEWED BY THE COMMISSION.**  
 I must now introduce a little evidence from the report of the strike commission bearing upon the United States deputy marshals, who were sworn in by the railroads "to protect life and property and preserve the peace."

Page 356: Superintendent Brennan, of the Chicago police, testifies before the commission that he has a number of deputy marshals in the county jail. **ARRESTED WHILE SERVING THE RAILROADS AS UNITED STATES DEPUTY MARSHALS FOR HIGH-WAY ROBBERY.**

Page 370: Ray Stannard Baker, then a reporter for the Chicago Record, now on the staff of McClure's Magazine, testified as follows, in answer to the question as to what he knew of the character of the deputy marshals: "From my experience with them it was very bad. I saw more cases of drunkenness, I believe, among the United States deputy marshals than I did among the strikers." **A NEWSPAPER REPORTER'S EVIDENCE.**

Pages 396 and 397: Malcolm McDowell, reporter for the Chicago Record, testified: "The United States deputy marshals and the special deputy sheriffs were sworn in by the hundreds about the 3d and 4th of July, and prior to that, too, and everybody who saw them knew they were not the class of men who ought to be made deputy marshals or deputy sheriffs." \*

In regard to most of the deputy marshals, they seemed to be hunting trouble all the time. \*

At one time a serious row nearly resulted because some of the deputy marshals standing on the railroad track jeered at the women that passed and insulted them. \*

**IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL.**

If the crimes committed during the Chicago strike were chargeable to the strikers, why were they not prosecuted? If not, why were they sentenced to prison?

The fact that they were swung into prison without evidence and without trial, and the fact that the Supreme Court affirmed the outrage seemed to afford Mr. Cleveland special satisfaction and he accepts what he calls the "concluding words" of the court as his own final vindication.

**JUDGE TRUMBULL'S OPINION.**  
 The late Senator and Judge Lyman Trumbull, for many years United States Senator, chairman of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Supreme Judge of Illinois, author of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, and, above all, an honest man, wrote: "The doctrine announced by the Supreme Court in the Debs case places every citizen at the mercy of any prejudiced or malicious federal judge who may think proper to imprison him."

President Cleveland doubtless understands the import of these ominous words. Let the people—the working people—whom the ex-President regards merely as a mob to be suppressed when they peaceably protest against injustice—let them contemplate these words at their leisure.

When the strike was at its height and the railroads were defeated at every turn, the federal court hastily emanated a special grand jury to indict the strikers. The foreman of this jury was chosen specially because he was a violent union hater, and he afterward betrayed his own capitalistic colleagues in a matter they had entrusted to his integrity. \*

The jury was empaneled, not to investigate, but to indict.

A Tribune reporter, who refused to verify a false interview before the jury, and thereby perjure himself, to incriminate the writer, was discharged. The Chicago Times published the particulars.

An indictment was speedily returned. "To the penitentiary," was the cry of the railroads and their henchmen. A trial jury was empaneled. Not a juror was accepted who was of the same political party as the defendants. Every possible effort was made to rush the strike leaders to the State prison.

**THE FAILURE OF THE PROSECUTION.**  
 After all the evidence of the prosecution had been presented they realized that they had miserably failed. Not one particle of incriminating testimony could the railroads produce with all the sleuth hounds they had at their command.

Next came our turn. The general managers were dumfounded when they were, one after the other, put on the stand. Eighty-six witnesses were in court to testify as to the facts and figures. Assistant Chief Palmer and other members of the fire department were on hand to testify that when they were trying to extinguish the flames in the railroad yards they caught men in the act of cutting the hose, and that these men were the badges of deputy marshals. Other witnesses were policemen who were ready to testify that they had caught these same deputies instigating violence and acts of incendiarism.

**THE JURY DUMFOUNDED.**  
 The jury had been packed to convict. When our evidence began to come in their eyes fairly bulged with astonishment. There was a perfect transformation scene. The jurors realized that they had been steeped in prejudice and grossly deceived.

The general managers testified that they did not remember what had taken place at the joint general managers' and Pullman meeting. Their printed proceedings were called for. They looked appealingly to Edwin Walker. The terror that overspread their features can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Their proceedings would expose conspiracy and crime. Something must be done and done quickly. Court adjourned for lunch. When it reconvened Judge Grosscup gravely announced that a juror had been suddenly taken ill and that the trial could not proceed.

**THE SUSPICIOUS "ILLNESS" OF A JUROR.**  
 The next day and the next the same announcement was repeated. We offered to proceed in any of the several ways provided in such exigencies. The prosecution objected. The cry, "To the penitentiary," had subsided. "To let go" was now the order of the railroads. Not another session of court must be held, for their printed proceedings, the private property in the strong box of each manager, and full of matter that would convict them, would have to be produced. All the proceedings of the American Railway Union had been produced in evidence by order of the court, and the court could not refuse to command the railroad officials to produce the proceedings of their association. These proceedings of the trial, but by order of the court, the defendants were forbidden to look into them, and Edwin Walker, the government counsel, watched them with the faithful eye of a trusted guardian.

We were not allowed to examine the proceedings of the General Managers' Association, notwithstanding our proceedings, telegrams, letters and other private communications had been brought into court by order of the judge, inspected by Edwin Walker and others, and printed in the court records for public inspection.

It was at this point that the court adjourned and the juror was taken ill.

Ten years have elapsed. He is still ill and we are still waiting for the court to reconvene and the trial to proceed.

**GOVERNMENT REFUSED TO GO ON WITH CASE.**  
 Every proposition to continue the case was fiercely resisted by Edwin Walker, special counsel of the government and general counsel of the railroads.

Charles S. Darrow objected to Mr. Walker's appearing in that dual capacity, representing at the same time the government and the railroads, the supposed justice of the one and the vengeful spirit of the other, but Judge Grosscup overruled the objection.

The trial was postponed again and again, the interest in it gradually subsiding, and many months afterward, when it was almost forgotten, it was quietly stricken from the docket.

**JUROBS GRASPED DEBS' HAND.**  
 When the remaining eleven jurors were discharged by the court, Edwin

Walker extended his hand to them, but they rushed by him and surrounded the writer and his co-defendants, grasping their hands and assuring them, each and every one of them, that they were convinced of their innocence and only retreated from returning their verdict accordingly. The details appear in the Chicago papers of that time.

At the very time we were being tried for conspiracy we were serving a sentence in prison for contempt, the program being that six months in jail should be followed by as many years in the penitentiary.

For a jury to pronounce us innocent in substantially the same case for which we were already serving a sentence would mean not only our complete vindication but the exposure of the federal court that had, at the behest of the railroads, sentenced us to prison without a trial.

And so the trial was abruptly terminated on account of the alleged illness of a juror, and they could find no other to take his place.

These are the facts and I have all the documentary evidence in detail and only lack of space prevents me from making the exhibits in this article.

If President Cleveland or the railroad managers doubt it, I stand ready to meet them face to face in discussion of the issue upon any platform in America.

**THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL BATTLE IN HISTORY.**  
 The Chicago strike was in many respects the grandest industrial battle in history, and I am prouder of my small share in it than of any other act of my life.

Men, women and children were on the verge of starvation at the "model city" of Pullman. They had produced the fabulous wealth of the Pullman corporation, but they, poor souls, were compelled to suffer the torment of hunger pangs in the very midst of the abundance their labor had created.

A hundred and fifty thousand railroad employees, their fellow members in the American Railway Union, sympathized with them, shared their earnings with them, and, after vainly trying in every conceivable way they could conceive to touch the flint heart of the Pullman Company, every overture being resented, every suggestion denied, every proposition scorned with contempt, they determined not to further their hands and dishonor their manhood by handling Pullman cars and contributing to the suffering and sorrow of their brethren and their wives and babes. And rather than do this they laid down their tools in a body, sacrificed their situations and submitted to persecution, exile and the blacklist; to idleness and poverty, crusts and rags, and I shall love and honor these moral heroes to my latest breath.

There was more of human sympathy, of the essence of brotherhood, of the spirit of real Christianity, in this act than in all the hollow pretenses and heartless prayers of those disciples of mammon who cried out against it, and this act will shine forth in increasing splendor long after the dollar-worshippers have mingled with the dust of oblivion.

Had the Carpenter of Nazareth been in Chicago at the time he would have been on the side of the poor, the heavy-laden and sore at heart, and he would have denounced their oppressors and been sent to prison for contempt of court under President Cleveland's administration.

President Cleveland says that we were put down because we had acted in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law of 1890. Will he kindly state what other trusts were proceeded against and what capitalists were sentenced to prison during his administration?

He waited ten years to cast his aspirations upon the honor of John P. Altgeld, and if that patriotic statesman had not fallen in the service of the people, if he were still here to defend his official acts, it is not probable that the ex-President would have ventured to assail him.

**A TRIBUTE TO GOV. ALTGELD.**  
 Reluctantly indeed I close without the space to incorporate his burning message to President Cleveland, and at least some brief extracts from his mastery speech on "Government by Injunction."

His memory requires no defense, but if it did I could speak better for him than for myself. He never truckled to corporate wealth, he did not compromise with his conscience, he was steadfast in his devotion to truth and in his fidelity to right, and he sought with all his strength to serve the people, and the people will gratefully remember him as one of the true men, one of the great souls, of his sordid age.

The Chicago strike is not yet settled, and its "concluding pages" are yet to be written.

**MOYER REFUTES CAPITALIST LIES.**

**President of Western Federation of Miners Denies Statement in Capitalist Press that He Advised Unionists to Vote Democratic.**

Various capitalist newspapers have printed statements that Charles H. Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners, who was so long imprisoned on the trumped up charge of "desecrating the flag," advised unionists to vote the Democratic ticket.

In reply to any inquiry from the office of The Worker, Comrade Moyer writes as follows:

"Dear Comrade—On my return to headquarters, Secretary Haywood handed me yours of the 2d, also a copy of the enclosed

influence I may have with my class in the cause of Socialism.

"In conclusion permit me to say that during my incarceration in the military prison, I was quoted by the press and at many times falsely accused of making statements, solely for the purpose of turning my friends on the outside against me, and thereby bringing about my defeat for re-election as president of the organization, but regardless of the persecution, I desire at this time to assure my comrades of the Socialist movement, also my brother unionists, that I am to-day more determined to fight the battles of my class than ever before and that I will ever be found fighting shoulder to shoulder with my comrades, who are waging a war of extermination against a system which is binding the chains of slavery more securely around the limbs of the wage workers and which makes Peabodyism a possibility.

"In the tenth and eleventh annual conventions of the Western Federation of Miners I cast my ballot for a policy of education along political and economic lines, and had I had the privilege of being present at the twelfth annual convention gladly would I have reaffirmed the action of the former conventions.

"The Republican and Democratic parties have done nothing for the wage workers, that I am aware of, that would lead me to change my views, up to this date, and offers nothing in the future.

"I close by reaffirming my allegiance to the Socialist party and my full and untiring support for the emancipation of the wage slaves.

"Thanking the comrades of the East for their liberal assistance so freely extended to the Peabody victims, I am, fraternally,

"CHARLES MOYER,  
President Western Federation of Miners.  
Denver, Colo., July 29."

**ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN.**

**A Second State Organizer to Be Sent Out.**

**Preparations Rapidly Maturing for a Hot Campaign.**

**Remarkable Growth of Socialist Sentiment in the State.**

The Campaign Committee meets every Monday night at Jung's Hall, 106 Randolph street; go up to second floor, walk to rear and up one flight of stairs. All members should attend, as well as all other party members who wish to see for themselves what is going on.

Some comrades in the county are impatiently complaining that the Campaign Committee is showing small results for the money they have been receiving. We wish to state that so far no great amount of money has come in, and what has been received has been used for the purpose of getting out campaign subscription lists, paying for the printing of same and for postage, which is a considerable item, and other incidental expenses. In other words the money has been used in the laying of wires for the purpose of getting in more money to carry on a good campaign. The committee is determined to incur no more liabilities, to be saddled on the party when the election is over, and will proceed according to its means.

However, the committee is already in a position to show results: About 8,000 campaign subscription lists have been sent out, on which money is commencing to come in, and an organizer for Cook County has been placed in the field. In the course of a week another organizer will be placed in the State, to assist in the able work being done by Organized Collins, Comrade Brower, of Elgin, has been selected for this work, and if he accepts, which we have reason to believe he will, our candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor will both be touring the State and aiding in the work of presenting the Socialist philosophy to the unconverted.

The Socialist party now has organizations and will have candidates in 49 out of 51 Senatorial districts in the State; also in all of the Congressional districts. The work of corresponding with the various locals, getting the various Senatorial, Congressional and county conventions under way for the nomination of candidates, getting the nomination papers properly filled out, etc., has been very heavy. State Secretary Smith has been compelled to work night and day, as well as on Sundays, but this work is now well under way, and soon will be completed, when the State Secretary will be able to give more time to the campaign work.

During the past week the committee has purchased and received in donation from the National Committee 20,000 pieces of literature for distribution among the stock yards strikers, the bulk of which has already been distributed. Speakers have also been sent out and the reception given the Socialist philosophy by the strikers is simply wonderful.

Comrade Walker, who is our candidate for the Legislature in the Danville district, and a member of the United Mine Workers, will carry on agitation in his district during the campaign. He will be assisted by Mother Jones and also by another of

**LABOR DAY EDITION**

The working-class struggle and working-class political movement will be clearly explained and portrayed in the LABOR DAY EDITION OF THE

**CHICAGO SOCIALIST**

to which many of the ablest writers in the country will contribute. There will be special articles on the Unemployed Problem of vital interest to the working people

**FILE YOUR BUNDLE ORDERS EARLY**

500 Copies, \$2.50; 1,000, \$5.00

Comrades, Give This Issue a Record-breaking Circulation

**AN APPEAL TO THE STRIKERS.**

Brothers, your fellow-workers in Chicago greet you and wish you success! Every day we scan the papers, anxiously looking for some sign of victory for your just cause.

Days have grown into weeks, and still you are struggling against base greed, that would drive you into conditions worse than slavery.

Your noble struggle for a better life and a brighter outlook for yourselves, wives and children, and the help and sympathy you are receiving from your brother workers, shows that all realize the fact that we must stand or fall together.

But in this fight against overweening pride and concentrated wealth, our scanty help and boundless sympathy is of little avail.

The legal owners, to whom you must sell your labor power, look upon you simply as a "commodity" to be bought in the competitive market.

Whatever rights you may have as human beings are of no importance compared with their rights in "private property."

On your side you have the just demand for a decent living, but on their side they have the "scab," the hungry stomachs, anxious to make any kind of a living.

But beyond all else they have the legal right to throw you out, to keep you out, and to put others in your place, without regard to what becomes of you or your families.

And in this legal right they are backed by the police, the courts and the militia.

The colored slaves of the South were at least sure of a cabin, food, clothes and medical attendance, work or no work, because they were slaves.

You are not sure of any of these things, nor are your masters obliged to furnish them to you, because you are free citizens.

As economic slaves you are weak, because of your economic weakness.

As free citizens you are unconquerable, because of your political strength.

On the political field each one is as strong as any one of your masters.

But your very strength is your curse, so long as you use it against your own interests.

By voting for either the Republican or Democratic parties you vote to give all the political and economic power into the hands of your masters.

You vote yourselves into economic slavery!

You use the weapon, which should be yours, to stab yourselves and your dear ones.

You forge the chains by which your masters hold you in bondage! Use your political power to secure economic freedom!

Own yourselves, as you now own the ballot, and by your political strength become joint owners with your fellow-workers of all the industries and means of production, on which modern society depends. Rise like men, vote for the economic freedom of yourselves and families by voting for the party of your class!

Vote to overthrow the present system of wage slavery!

The Socialist party alone represents your interests, because it stands for the economic and political supremacy of the working class.

Join and support this party, place yourself and your class into power, and use this power for your own economic advantage!

Thus you shall gain freedom from conditions you are suffering from.

To strike is good, because it shows your desire for a better life.

To vote right is better, because it shows your fitness to enjoy that better life.

lial of the Miners' Union. The miners of the Danville district swear they will send Comrade Walker to the Legislature.

A tour of the State will be made during the fall by the following speakers: Simons, Morgan, Black, Edwards, Stedman, Brower, Breckon, Berlyn and Carr, and others. A schedule of dates has been arranged, which will give from one to three and four rallies at the various principal towns and cities in the State.

The county organizer, Comrade Larsen, has made a good beginning in his new duties. He already has under way the organization of new branches in the First and Thirtieth wards, and in Maywood, Riverview and Dalton. He is also trying to systematize the agitation in the various wards. The committee was well pleased with his report.

As stated in last week's notes, the sentiment out in the State is simply wonderful. Comrade Stimms has returned from a short trip and corroborates these reports. He declares we will poll at least 600 votes in Joliet, where we never had a ticket nor local until within the past year. The comrades in Joliet are preparing to hold meetings each week with speakers from Chicago. They are even willing to pay the expenses of the speakers.

The committee now has on hand a quantity of leaflets which will be sold at the rate of \$1.50 per 2,000. In a couple of weeks if the money coming in on the lists keeps increasing at the present rate, we expect to be in a

position to furnish these leaflets free.

By the middle of September the campaign will be in full swing. The committee does not wish to start the real work of the campaign before that date, as it was our experience in 1900, when the campaign was started in July, that our funds went dry three weeks before the election and practically all agitation had to stop. The resources of the movement are limited, only a certain amount can be expected from the limited resources of the comrades and sympathizers, and if we get started in the real work of the campaign by the middle of September we should be able to keep it in full swing until the day of election.

Now, comrades, hustle up the funds on the lists so that we can get out large quantities of literature for free distribution, so that we can maintain our two organizers in the State, and later on send out a third, as well as maintain other speakers in the work of touring the State, speaking at the various rallies which, as stated above, we have arranged a schedule for.

Everybody to work!

**MASS MEETING.**

Monday, August 29th, 1904, 8 p. m., 120 W. Lake street, corner Desplaines street. Speakers, Margaret Haley, Wm. S. Dalton. Mr. Dalton's lecture will be illustrated by one hundred stereopticon views. Every woodworker in Chicago invited. Entertainment committee, Local No. 7.

**THREE PHASES OF THE QUESTION.**

During the past week I have spoken at three meetings with wholly different audiences, yet from all come a story of encouragement for Socialism. On the 17th I occupied a "soap box" in Joliet. An audience of laborers of three hundred or more gathered round with a quiet, earnest attention that was a sharper contrast to the sneering, patronizing attitude of former years than would have been the wildest applause. The Joliet comrades have an active enthusiast local that is holding meetings every week where a year ago the name of Socialism was almost unknown.

From Joliet I went to Wenona to speak at a picnic of the E. M. W. There is as yet no Socialist local here, but this will soon be remedied, as more than the necessary members can be obtained with a little hustling, and the men are there who will do the hustling. Here I spoke from the same platform as a mine "operator," so called, probably, because he has nothing to do with the operation of a mine. Mr. Mouser, the "operator" of the Wenona Coal Company, was a gentleman of the old school, who could not realize that the old days of personal paternal relations between employer and employees were gone forever. He spoke well. He declared himself in favor of a child labor law that would keep every boy under sixteen out of the mines. He endorsed the union. He praised its work. He did not believe in the "closed shop," but otherwise he spoke much as a "pure and simple" might have done. But it was all in vain. In spite of his attempted friendship, in spite of his praise for the union, in spite of his personal acquaintance for twenty-five years with his employees; in spite, on the other hand, of their lack of intelligent consciousness of class interests, the class struggle was there and it was almost pitiful to watch the old man vainly striving to stretch his hands across that tremendous social chasm, and hoping in vain to find a response from the other side. The message of Socialism they received gladly, enthusiastically. They denounced the Colorado outrages vehemently, and many declared their intention of voicing their indignation at the polls. When the speech was concluded, the first man to grasp my hand was the old operator, who had leaped from his carriage as I came down from the platform, and who greeted me with, "You're all right, young man. I enjoyed your talk, but you are forty years ahead of the times." The retort was on my lips, but I held it back to say, as I looked at the evidences of growing class consciousness, and a sharpening class struggle around me, to reply, "It is you who are a generation behind the times and who are seeking to bring back the long gone stage of paternalistic, benevolent, personal relations between master and man."

On the 20th the scene shifted to a Chautauqua at Aurora. An audience of nearly two thousand gathered beneath a tent, to be amused, "instructed," or sentimentally "stirred." A smug, middle-class audience, ready for "reform" which should prolong the agony of their industrial death, but frightened at the suggestion of a peaceful revolution that should free them and fit them for life as men and women. I had faced the same audience a hundred times and more before, and I did not withhold the truth. But I was surprised at the effect. Instead of the old patronizing hollertanneth or the open indifference of other years, there was the closest, most earnest attention. I used the "inevitable" argument, and as I traced the facts that were arguing so logically through history and to-day for Socialism, I do not believe it was wholly the speaker's conceit that made me read interest in nearly every face and conviction in many. Indeed, at the close I heard over and over again the story that we hear on every side in these days: "Socialism is coming. The vote for the Socialist party this year will be something to astonish the world." Fraternally,

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# THE BATTLE OF THE MEAT MAKERS.

(Continued from First Page.)

could not learn of it until the employers were ready to turn their poor brutalized, purchased negro slaves out, in order to precipitate the long-desired riots and get the use of the militia. But a union man who dares to even use the streets in the neighborhood of his miserable home, is clubbed, thrown into a patrol wagon and dragged to the police station as a "disturber of the peace."

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This fight is a wider fight than those who are engaged in dream. One of the superintendents of one of the largest of the packing-houses stated a week ago that there were hundreds of men in his department (nearly all the men indeed who were really there to do work) who had been sent there BY THEIR EMPLOYERS. Members of the Employers' Associations, and Citizens' Alliances all over the country have been ordering their wage-slaves to work for this new master. Men have been called into a host of offices throughout the United States, and told that their further right to live and work, depended on whether they were willing to enter into the companionship of the beastialized negro scabs who are now caged up in the walls of Packingtown.

## THE LESSON OF IT ALL.

One lesson is coming home to the men who are battling so bravely against such tremendous odds beneath the smoke-laden atmosphere of the world's greatest industry. Every day adds hundreds to the number who see that while the government remains in the control of the master class, and while the institution of private ownership stands between them and their chance to live, that there is no hope for them, or their class, or families. These men are listening gladly to the gospel of Socialism. They are listening to it from the lips of orators, from the pages of literature, but most eagerly of all, in the voice of the events of which they are a part. They are being forced to realize that, Democrat or Republican, is but a political label for the same old capitalism that is crushing them to death. They know that while there may be Democrats and Republicans among those who are being used to crush them, there are no Socialists. They know that while some of their bosses will vote for Roosevelt and some for Parker, that none will vote for Debs. So it is that every day sees thousands more who are determined to use their ballot to back up their strike—who propose to voice their solidarity at the one place where they cannot be defeated—by voting for the Socialist party.

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**GERMAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS** third Saturday of each month at 8 p. m., at Lauterbach's Hall, 55 North Clark street.

**BOHEMIAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS** first and third Monday, corner 18th and LaSalle streets. Chas. Vergier, Secretary.

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## SPECIAL NOTICES.

The Cook County Entertainment Committee meets every Tuesday night at 8 o'clock at 18th Ward Branch headquarters, 328 W. Madison street, third floor. Branches not represented are requested to elect delegates at once. T. O. Lewis, Secretary.

Socialist Ladies' German Local meets every first Thursday in the month at 2 p. m., at 55 North Clark.

Socialist Ladies' Choir meets every Wednesday at 2 p. m., at 55 North Clark. Mrs. P. Voges, Secretary, 509 Armitage avenue.

The 15th Ward Branch now meets every Friday night instead of first and third Fridays, as heretofore. Comrades are urgently requested to be on hand. Meetings called at 8 o'clock sharp. Bohies Hall, corner North Western avenue and Thomas street. F. H. KUCHENBECKER, Sec'y.

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"I swear I will not be out-faced by irrational things," says Walt Whitman, and the other day down in Packingtown I met a woman who is the embodiment of this spirit of resolution. I wish that every working class voter in the city of Chicago might meet her and catch something of her scornful defiance of the glutinous packers and understand her rebuke of the working people for their submission to conditions which, as she told them, they have the power and ought to have the intelligence to abolish.

This woman (I withhold her name only to save her from the jeers and gibes of the ignorant) I first met at a street meeting addressed by another comrade and myself. She expressed her desire to say a few words to the throng of human beings who listened intently to every word we had to say. When an opportunity was given her to speak, she mounted the improvised platform in perfect composure, none of us knowing what she might say. Tall, gaunt, poorly but decently clad, her face seamed with the lines that told of a life's struggle against fearful odds, it was an easy matter to believe that she could pour forth a torrent of hysterical denunciation of anybody or anything. But she spoke calmly, in measured sentences:

"I am the wife of a striking butcher. Many of you men know me. I have lived in this district for more than thirty years. I know your condition. I know all about your struggle to live. I, too, am in your condition. I share your miseries. But I am not poor—because I have what no monopolist can take from me. I have dignity and independence. The working class lacks some things. It lacks dignity. It has no true understanding of its rights. It is ignorant and your enemies profit by your ignorance."

Every word and more of them spoken without passion, but with an earnestness and facility of expression that quickly appealed to the crowd and inspired her as respectful a hearing as any polished orator ever commanded. Every eye was riveted upon the striking butcher's wife, and when, in closing, she told them not to "scab" on election day, but to support the party of their class to control the government, and I assisted her from the box, there were few hands that did not contribute to swell the applause.

Two days after I had an opportunity to talk with the butcher's wife, when she told me so many things that explained her deep convictions—experiences that go to make up the haggard lives of thousands of housekeepers in horrible Packingtown: How in strikes of former years, back to 1886, her own kin had been brutally beaten; how a child's innocent casting of a stone in the street had brought police in re-

sponse to a riot call and women and children dragged from their homes; how the women in the vicinity of her home suffered continually because of the ever impending crisis, with nothing saved because saving was impossible, and the Hunger Wolf prowling the pitiless streets.

"But I must do something," she said. "The opportunity is here now." And when I spoke of how much there is to do, how little we have to do with, she exclaimed, "Yes—yes—but I must eat; I am willing, but poor. I will not let my husband go to the relief station and carry away the 8 cents' worth of provisions every three days, never. We will die first." Then she showed me two tickets entitling her family to relief. But this woman, proud in her need, defiant in her great sorrow, would have no connection with the relief station.

I looked squarely into her dauntless eyes, and in her pallid but determined face I read the age-long struggle of the people for a better existence. And I said, "This woman shall have an opportunity; she shall eat and speak to her own people."

I sought the comrades and narrated the bare facts. It was enough. One gave two dollars, two gave a dollar each. And now I appeal to others to help us maintain this woman in the propaganda. She is willing, but she must eat.

Now, comrades and sympathizers, send your contributions to the "Stock Yards Propaganda Fund." All amounts will be acknowledged in this paper and the money expended solely to carry on a systematic work in that district. Send all contributions to A. S. Edwards, County Secretary, Room 27, 163 Randolph street.

## THE SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT PICNIC

Will be given in grove at 81st street and Stony Island avenue (take Pullman car) Sunday, Aug. 28, 1904. All kinds of refreshments will be served. There will be games and contests of various kinds.

Music by Amateur Band. All party members and their friends in the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Thirty-third wards should attend. There will be good speeches by local comrades.

Admission, 10 cents.  
Come, and bring your friends. Proceeds will be devoted to campaign work.

Economic freedom will come, when the working people are ready for it. The very fact that so many of them continue to vote for economic slavery by voting the old party tickets shows that they are not yet ripe for freedom.